

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 ARA-06 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-11 AID-05

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8850

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGUI

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MONROVIA 0775

FOR THE SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, UG, CV, CT

SUBJ: ANGOLA: TOLBERT, MOBUTU, AMIN AND BOKASSA PUBLICLY CASTI-  
GATE SOVIETS AND CUBANS

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENTS TOLBERT, MOBUTU, AMIN AND BOKASSA ISSUED JOINT COMMUNIQUE AT KAMPALA ON JANUARY 26TH WHICH PUBLICLY CASTIGATES SOVIET-CUBAN ROLE IN ANGOLA. UPON RETURN TO MONROVIA PRESIDENT TOLBERT MADE COMMUNIQUE PUBLIC AND THEN PROCEEDED TO EXTEMPORANEOUSLY CASTIGATE SOVIET-CUBAN ANGOLAN INVOLVEMENT IN PRESENCE OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS (INCLUDING SOVIET AMBASSADOR), ENTIRE CABINET, OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, PRESS CORPS AND CROSS SECTION OF GENERAL PUBLIC. EMBASSY SUGGESTS COMMUNIQUE AND TOLBERT EXTEMPORANEOUS STATEMENT COULD BE USEFUL IN OUR EFFORTS TO PLACE TRUE PICTURE OF ANGOLA SITUATION BEFORE CONGRESS AND AMERICAN PUBLIC.

2. PRESIDENT TOLBERT RETURNED TO MONROVIA FROM AMIN'S FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AFTERNOON JANUARY 29TH. AT "WELCOME HOME" RECEPTION AT EXECUTIVE MANSION, FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS READ  
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JOINT COMMUNIQUE (TEXT TO FOLLOW BY SEPTTEL) SIGNED AT KAMPALA BY

TOLBERT, MOBUTU, AMIN AND BOKASSA. COMMUNIQUE STATES INTER ALIA, QTE WHILE IN UGANDA THE FOUR HEADS OF STATE TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST RELATING TO AFRICA IN PARTICULAR AND THE WORLD IN GENERAL. DURING THIS MEETING, PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO INFORMED HIS BROTHERS AND COLLEAGUES ABOUT STEPS HE HAS TAKEN WITH THE O.A.U., THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF UNITED NATIONS REGARDING MILITARY ATTACKS ON THE TOWN OF DILOLO, REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE, ON THE 10TH JANUARY, 1976, BY USSR AND CUBAN TROOPS FIGHTING IN ANGOLA ON THE SIDE OF THE MPLA FACTION. PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO ADVISED HIS COLLEAGUES THAT HE HAD INFORMED THE OAU, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS; AND REQUESTED ALL MEMBER STATES TO BE NOTIFIED OF THIS UNWARRANTED AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SECURITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE, A MEMBER STATE OF THE OAU, THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES MOVEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS. THE FOUR HEADS OF STATE EXPRESSED GREAT SURPRISE BY THIS ACT OF AGGRESSION WHICH IS IN VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND WHICH PRESENTS A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE SECURITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE, AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. THE FOUR AFRICAN LEADERS CONDEMNED THIS ACT OF AGGRESSION ON THE PART OF USSR AND CUBAN FORCES AGAINST THE ZAIRIAN PEOPLE AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SUCH AGGRESSION IS NOT A PRELUDE TO ESCALATION OF ACTIVITIES OF USSR AND CUBAN FORCES IN ZAIRE AND AFRICA, WHICH COULD RESULT IN THE RECOLONIZATION OF FREE AFRICAN STATES. THE THREE PRESIDENTS EXPRESSED THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE STEPS TAKEN BY PRESIDENT MOBUTU IN BRINGING THIS ACT OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE TO THE AOU AND UNITED NATIONS, AND THEY ALSO PLEDGED THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE SISTER REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE IN ITS DETERMINATION TO MAINTAINING (SIC) AND PRESERVING (SIC) ITS SECURITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ITS NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. THE FOUR PRESIDENTS AGAIN URGE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA AND REITERATE THEIR APPEAL TO THE THREE ANGOLAN LEADERS TO STOP THE WANTON DESTRUCTION OF LIVES AND PROPERTY AND TO SEEK TOGETHER TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR HARD-WON POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE UNQTE.

3. FOLLOWING DENNIS' READING OF COMMUNIQUE, TOLBERT ROSE TO MAKE TRADITIONAL RESPONSE TO TRADITIONAL CABINET CHAIRMAN'S REPORT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVT ACTIVITIES DURING TOLBERT'S ABSENCE WHICH PRECEDED DENNIS' PRESENTATION. NORMALLY THIS IS A PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH CHRONICLES TOLBERT'S ACTIVITIES DURING HIS ABSENCE. HOWEVER, TOLBERT LAID ASIDE HIS PREPARED TEXT, MAKING SURE ALL PRESENT (DIPLOMATIC CORPS, CABINET, SENIOR JUDICIARY, OTHER GOVT OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF GENERAL PUBLIC) UNDERSTOOD HE WAS SPEAKING EXTEMPORANEOUSLY. AFTER NORMAL EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR WAY GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONED IN HIS ABSENCE, EX-

PRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR WAY HE WAS RECEIVED BY AND IN  
UGANDA, EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR WAY INAUGURAL CHOIR (WHICH  
ACCOMPANIED HIM) PERFORMED AND BEHAVED, EXPRESSION OF ALARM,  
DISMAY AND CONDOLENCES AT SHOOTING INCIDENT LAST WEEKEND WHICH  
RESULTED IN TWO DEATHS AND THIRTY-FIVE INJURIES, TOLBERT LAUNCHED  
INTO UNPRECEDENTED VERY FORCEFUL AND HIGHLY EMOTIONAL CASTIGATION  
OF SOVIETS AND CUBANS FOR THEIR ROLES IN ANGOLA. AT NO POINT DID  
TOLBERT NAME EITHER COUNTRY, BUT THERE WAS NO DOUBT IN THE MINDS  
OF ANYONE PRESENT AS TO WHOM HIS REMARKS WERE DIRECTED. HE POINT-  
EDLY LOOKED AT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR SEVERAL TIMES DURING THIS  
PORTION OF HIS STATEMENT. TOLBERT  
STATED (THIS IS DIRECT QUOTE TAKEN FROM TAPE RECORDING MADE BY  
CHARGE DURING REBROADCAST OF EXECUTIVE MANSION PROCEEDINGS) QTE  
NOW MY FRIENDS, WE ARE LIVING IN A WORLD NOW THE EVENTS OF WHICH,  
THE ACTIONS OF WHICH CERTAINLY MUST GIVE GREAT CONCERN TO MEN  
OF GOOD WILL, OF MEN OR OF INDIVIDUALS WHO WANT JUSTICE TO BE  
METED OUT AND PEACE TO ABOUND. THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA DISTURBS  
US. DISTURBING US WOULD BE A PHRASEALOGY THAT WOULD BE TOO  
MILD. WE ARE DISTRESSED. WE ARE DISTRESSED. DO YOU KNOW WHAT'S  
HAPPENING? AFRICANS ARE BEING KILLED. DO YOU KNOW THAT? AFRICANS  
ARE FLEEING AWAY FROM THEIR HOMES, ABANDONING THE PLACE WHERE THEY  
WERE BORN AND RAISED, THAT ARE DEAR TO THEM, BECOMING REFUGEES,  
DO YOU KNOW THAT, DO YOU UNDERSTAND THAT?

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O R 292356Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8851

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGUI

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

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FOR THE SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLELE

MY FRIENDS, HOW CAN ANYONE WHO KILLS MY BROTHER EXPECT FOR ME TO BELIEVE THAT HE IS MY FREIND? (APPLAUSE) I CALL UPON THOSE WHO HAVE THE POWER TO DO WHAT THEY ARE DOING TO STOP USING THAT POWER IN DOING WHAT THEY ARE DOING, AND SAVE THE LIVES OF MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO ARE DYING. MY FRIENDS, I'M APPEALING. I'M APPEALING TO THE WORLD POWERS. WILL THE DESIRE TO EXTEND IDEOLOGIES BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF AFRICANS? WILL THEIR DESIRE FOR POWER CAUSE BROTHERS AND SISTERS TO DIE? I APPEAL IN THE NAME OF GOD FOR THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE TO COME TO A HALT AND REALIZE THAT MANKIND IS SUFFERING (APPLAUSE). MANKIND IS SUFFERING. ARMAMENTS? YES, THEY MIGHT BE NEEDED IN AFRICA. BUT I THINK WHAT WE NEED NOW MORE IN AFRICA IS ARMS OF CARE AND ATTENTION. ARMS, NOT ARMAMENTS OF WAR AND DESTRUCTION. WE CAN BE SO MUCH IN NEED OF THOSE BASIC THINGS THAT WILL BRING EXISTENCE TO OUR PEOPLE, AND WHEN WE ASK FOR HELP, STRUGGLING AS WE MAY BE DOING, THERE ARE DELAYS, BUT THEN WHEN THERE IS NEED FOR ARMS THEY ARE FREELY GIVEN. WHY, WHY CONFUSE? WHY CONFUSE? WHY DESTROY US? WHY? WE ARE BLOOD, WE ARE OF THE SAME STOCK. GOD CREATED ALL OF US. WHY DESTROY US? MY FRIENDS, I HOPE THE WORLD WILL COME TO  
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UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS NEED FOR GOOD WILL, THERE IS NEED FOR UNDERSTANDING. AND THERE IS NO NEED FOR HUMAN DESTRUCTION. AND THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE WILL ANSWER FOR IT ONE DAY.  
UNQTE.

4. AT CHARGE'S REQUEST, FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS FURNISHED TAPED COPY OF PRESIDENT'S REMARKS. TAPE BEING FORWARDED BY NEXT AVAILABLE POUCH.

5. I HOPE COMMUNIQUE AND TAPE MAY BE HELPFUL TO PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY IN ADVANCING USG POSITION REGARDING ANGOLA. I ADVISED FOREIGN MINISTER AND ASSISTANT MINISTER EASTMAN THAT I INTENDED SUGGEST THEY BE USED IN THIS CONTEXT. DENNIS APPEARED DELIGHTED AT PROSPECT AND EASTMAN SAID QTE THEY ARE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS  
UNQTE.

6. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER TAPE WILL BE OF USE BY THE TIME IT REACHES WASHINGTON, BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT STATEMENT WAS DELIVERED IN TOTAL SINCERITY AND WAS WELL RECEIVED BY MOST PRESENT. (THIS IS REFLECTED IN APPLAUSE WHICH TAPE RECORDING REVEALS.) TOLBERT WAS CLOSE TO TEARS BY THE TIME HE COMPLETED STATEMENT. THE ONLY OTHER TIME I HAVE SEEN HIM IN THIS STATE WAS AS HIS BROTHER' REMAINS WERE BEING LOWERED INTO THE GRAVE LAST APRIL. IF THERE IS ANY DISCREET USE THAT WE CAN MAKE OF TODAY'S EVENTS WITH CONGRESS, WITH THE PUBLIC OR OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS, I URGE

THAT WE DO SO. I ALSO URGE THAT WE TELL TOLBERT IMMEDIATELY IN  
PLAIN, HUMAN LANGUAGE, FROM A HIGHLY PLACE SOURCE THAT WE UNDER-  
STAND HIS POSITION, THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURES TO WHICH HE  
HAS BEEN SUBJECTED AND THAT WE APPRECIATE HIS COURAGE AND FORTH-  
RIGHTNESS WHEN SOME AROUND HIM HAVE AND ARE WAVERING IN THE FACE  
OF THREATS AND ADVERSITY. IT MIGHT ALSO HELP TO TRANSMIT SIMILAR  
MESSAGES TO AMIN, MOBUTU AND BOKASSA.  
BEAN

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